

papers was never large (it often did not exceed 300 to 500 copies), the subscriptions alone were not sufficient to cover the minimum costs of printing and paper. Advertisements could bring some additional funds, but the merchants in Iran were not so publicity minded as their American counterparts, and, moreover, there was not much sense in advertising in a new periodical, which could disappear from the scene in a few days or weeks. In these circumstances, the publishers were forced to have recourse to special practices. The most notorious was blackmail. Placing oneself at the disposal of some foreign legation or mission constituted another device. Subsidies from such a source were, perhaps, the commonest means used to guarantee the regular appearance of a newspaper. In some cases the service thus rendered to a foreign Power was done with the conviction that the cause was just and honorable; but often the matter was merely a business proposition.

The level and quality of articles in the papers was generally low. If a political adversary was attacked, one could be sure that an array of vile epithets would be used. Dishonesty constituted the most frequent charge. The journalistic vocabulary abounded in such blunt words as "stealing" or "thieving," and—by way of contrast—the greatest compliment that could be paid by the press to a politician or cabinet member was that he was honest. Because of the inevitable connection of Iranian internal politics with outside influences, the papers often accused various persons and groups of treason. Iranian readers were accustomed to this sort of language and the rather lenient laws did not act as a deterrent to these practices. Conse-

quently, libel suits very rarely resulted from such attacks—except in the case of Seyyid Zia ed-Din, who was in almost constant legal wrangles with the Communist papers over invectives addressed to him.

The government was sensitive to press criticism and made frequent use of its powers of suspension. In some cases such a suspension acted as a deterrent to further publication. More often, however, the suspended paper reappeared on the next day under a changed name. Often as many as ten or twelve newspapers were suspended by the government on a single day. Since the cabinets did not possess any papers to defend their policies during the war, suspensions became

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